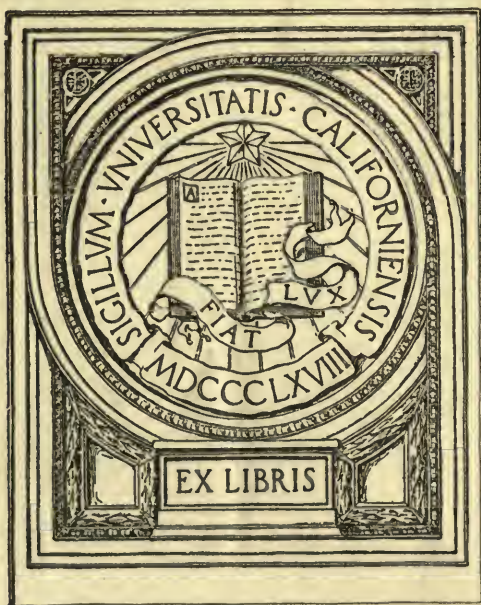


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PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF COLLEGE TEACHERS
OF EDUCATION, 1908

THE
STATE NORMAL SCHOOL

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

AS A

PROFESSIONAL SUBJECT

BY

Professor WILLIAM H. BURNHAM, of Clark University

AND

Professor HENRY SUZZALLO, of Teachers College, Columbia University

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The History of Education.

BY

Professor Wm. H. Burnham

Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

The President and Secretary of this society have promised me immunity. Accordingly I intend to speak frankly of present conditions.

First of all certain noteworthy facts claim attention. Everybody believes in education, yet few believe in studying it. Education represents a universal interest like religion, politics and art, yet few are interested in scientific pedagogy. The control and direction of education are of transcendent importance, and yet the subject which treats of this control and the methods of its direction has seldom until recently had an independent and dignified place in the university curriculum. In Germany, the classic land of education, pedagogy has long sat as a drudge at the academic hearth, and its highest recognition in the great universities has usually been as the handmaid of philosophy. In this country the recognition has sometimes been greater, but in general the educational department has a place of minor importance, and the work of the department is, as investigation shows, often misunderstood and sometimes despised. The financial emolument, which in this country is wont to be the correlative of the dignity and esteem in which a subject is held, has usually been, among the meagre salaries of all academic teachers, still more meagre. Both literally and figuratively, in the words of the Italian proverb, "pedagogy is always poor and naked."

Probably there are many reasons for this low esteem of pedagogy. The subject is new. Only recently have scientific methods been applied to the study of education. And again this is a field where all, not only teachers but laymen, have opinions. Everybody has an educational creed. One believes in the system by which one was himself educated or else an opposite system. Any subject of which everyone knows something and nobody knows much is not likely to be regarded as the special field of experts. This relatively low academic standing of our subject, however, would not perhaps be of special significance were it not that pedagogy seems to be conscious of her shame. This is illustrated in many ways.

At the last meeting of the New England College Teachers of

Education the whole session was taken up with reports of the way the subject is regarded and the discussion of means of obtaining recognition from college faculties, school superintendents, and others. The word pedagogy itself is in disrepute. Its equivalents in European languages are in good use, the German *Pädagogik*, the French *pédagogie*, the Italian *pedagogia*, etc.; but American professors who are particular about their academic language avoid it. A few years ago I submitted an article to a prominent educational periodical, and when the proof was sent to me it had been thoroughly disinfected by the expurgation of all such words as *pedagogy* and *pedagogical*. The name of this society is perhaps noteworthy. It is the Society of College Teachers of Education. Most of the university chairs in this department are, I fancy, chairs of education, not of pedagogy.

This self-consciousness in regard to the academic standing of the subject again would be of little significance, perhaps, were it not that there seems to be a measure of justification for it. I am concerned only with the history of education. As regards this part of the field, at least, I must frankly admit that the prevalent low esteem is largely justified by the inferiority of the methods and content of the subject.

The courses on the history of education given in our colleges and universities are of two kinds. First, the more practical ones, as a rule concerned with the great educational reformers and presenting from their writings those elementary educational principles which form that nucleus of common sense pedagogical wisdom recognized by teachers everywhere. Such courses have their place. They are probably as a rule excellent and necessary for all who are to become teachers. Second, are the courses of a broader nature; and it is of such that I have been requested especially to speak.

The character of these courses depends upon the teacher who gives them; but if we may judge by the text books used they are often narrow and inadequate. As I have elsewhere (8)* pointed out: "Most of the works on the history of education are filled in large part with accounts of second-rate writers and second-rate books that happen to be labeled educational, while the really great educators have often been neglected, and educational movements have been described as isolated currents in the pro-

*The numbers refer to bibliography at the end of this paper.

gress of civilization, without regard to their vital connection with political, social, and industrial movements.) The method has been the elementary method of studying and describing isolated facts without regard to historical perspective and causal relations." The ordinary writer upon education has been so close to the details concerning curricula, doctrines, methods, and the like, that he has been quite unable to see these wider relations. To miss these is to miss everything of permanent value, while to record these is to make the history of education one of the most vitally interesting of all subjects. (It is time to rise above this elementary method and to study educational movements in relation to the development of civilization,) as a part of *Culturgeschichte*.

The study of educational history seems to have begun about the close of the 18th century. The first attempt was probably Mangelsdorf's in 1779, which was followed by Ruhkopf's *Geschichte* in 1794, by Niemeyer's historical survey in 1799, and that of Schwarz in 1813. I have not seen these early histories, but their point of view was naturally that of pedagogy in the narrow sense. When the larger handbooks of the history of education were written, the authors naturally took much the same point of view; and in the great mass of material the writers, on account of the limitation of human ability, could hardly do more than record the lives and works of the distinctly pedagogical writers and trace educational movements in the narrower sense. It is true that Von Raumer (37) did better than this and Schmid (42) is a great improvement in many ways upon earlier historians; the best of them all, however, in the writer's opinion, is the smaller book by Ziegler (49), who attempts merely to consider the history of modern pedagogy from the point of view of secondary education. The excellence of this book it may be surmised is partly due to the fact that the author himself seems to have recognized that at the present time it is impossible to write a satisfactory history of education; but he has done a remarkably fine piece of work for the purpose intended. Monroe's history (28a) is a scholarly book and does not ignore the wider relations, but it is impossible to treat the history of education from primitive man to present day tendencies and problems in a textbook of 800 pages; the author, however, promises a contribution of the first importance by his series of source books so

✓ auspiciously begun. Practically all the general histories attempt too much; all of them accomplish too little. There is one notable exception, one book which suggests how the future history will be written. The author has succeeded because he confined himself to one country and to one century. I refer to Heubaum's *Geschichte* (19). By thus limiting his field the editor of "*Kehrbach's Mittheilungen*" has traced the social and political relations of pedagogy and shown the significant and vital aspects of German education in the century following the Thirty Years' War.

✓ The point of view of the history of education should be at least as broad as the modern aim of education. We emphasize not merely the advantage of a knowledge of books and classical culture, but we demand a large amount of motor training, and the development of interests in science, art, modern literature, social and civic life, and the development of the spirit of co-operation as well as that of rivalry and competition. We insist upon the importance of content as well as of form, and of form as well as of content, and in our modern systems of education, industrial, technical, commercial, and the various forms of artistic education have a large place; and finally, we educate girls as well as boys.

If we take this point of view in looking at the history of education and attempt to study all of the educational factors of the past and the educational movements in their wider relations, we see at once how inadequate are our so-called histories and how relatively meagre is the body of special contributions. For a single illustration take the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. The historians of education have been wont to dismiss this whole period with a few generalities, pointing out that the training was largely for the life to come, for the *Jenseits*, that the virtues of the period were negative, the education aristocratic and ecclesiastical, the instruction mere verbal legerdemain, the church sovereign, Latin the only tongue, popular education null; in a word, we have been wont to sum up the whole story by saying, it was education of the church, for the church, and by the church. This, of course, is largely true, but it is not the whole truth.

If we take the broader modern conception of education we must in many ways distinctly revise this conception of the character of education during this period. Even as regards the study of the seven liberal arts and of the classic writers the med-

ieval instruction was far better than many suppose, as shown by the studies of Sandys (40), Abelson (1), Anderson (3), and others.

Medieval education was different from our own, not altogether inferior. The emphasis in education was upon motor training, industrial education, artistic education; upon the so-called education of the feelings, and the attainment of good form, good manners, the knightly accomplishments of the gentleman, upon grace, courtesy, and good breeding; and, while scholasticism prevailed in the Universities, student life had its points of similarity to our own (18 and 19).

Even the schools for the common people in the later centuries of the Middle Ages were far more numerous than is usually supposed. Illustrations have been given by Brother Azarias (4), and the researches of Leach (24) have shown that for England at least the Grammar schools, such as they were, were more adequate for the population than during the early half of the 19th century.

The education in the schools was also less narrow than is sometimes supposed. It consisted largely of music and preparation for church service, but this was no unimportant part of education. It was similar in a way at least to the old Greek training. It is true the emphasis upon form and the neglect of content was extreme. Nevertheless something is to be said even for this. Today we often go to the other extreme and neglect form.

Medieval education is vital, interesting, and in many ways commendable if one can read the records of it. They are not preserved for us in school histories, note books, examination papers, statistics of literary and university diplomas, but rather in the great works of medieval art, especially the unsurpassed architecture of that period. As evidence of the education of the builders they are all the more convincing because the product of their hands rather than the words of their mouths. The cathedral at Cologne, for example, which was building through several centuries, represents the education of many cities, parishes, and guilds, which vied with one another in its decorations, and the manual training of thousands of working men. It is in a word the record of a great school of the later period of the Middle Ages, a people's technical college, with elementary courses in manual training, masonry

stone carving, wood work, joining, artistic expression, and practical moral training in thoroughness, integrity, self-sacrifice and mutual co-operation, and advanced courses in engineering, masonry, art, and, finally, in music and religion.

The monasteries were great workshops and the varied industries performed in them were of great educational significance. They have rightly been called "the manual training schools of the Middle Ages." Many of the priests had one or several trades in which they were skilled. Perhaps most of them were skilled workmen.

Education opened different lines for talent from those we are familiar with to-day. The records of medieval education, as has been said, were in the buildings of the time, and in a still larger way in the great industrial organizations, such as the guilds, and the great political and commercial organizations, especially the cities. For the ordinary workmen and the men of talent alike, the means of expressing thought was some motor objective performance. Of the ordinary workman, who built the cathedrals, it can be said in a sense more true then than to-day, "Not a brick was made but some man had to think of the making of that brick;" and of the man of genius, the words of Kipling are true, "The travail of thy spirit bred cities instead of speech."

While we cannot ignore the degradation and the squalid condition of that period it is not necessary to neglect the romance of medieval education. In a day when the means of communication were most primitive, and railroads, steamboats, and the like were beyond the visions of the wildest dreamers, nevertheless, travel as a means of education was most highly esteemed. Not only did the great scholars go to Italy and bring back the knowledge of her literature and art, but even the apprentices were required to spend one year out of their seven years' of training in traveling about and learning the latest and best methods. Soldiers and artisans brought the knowledge of new art and new skill from Italy to the continent. Sailors and merchants carried the Bible and the new learning from the continent to the British Isles. The wandering student and the tramp teacher were not the only travelling educators; musicians, poets, fortune tellers, conjurers, clowns, etc., etc., went from village to village and from city to city, and we cannot describe their function merely by branding them as beggars, criminals and vagrants.

Of course medieval education represented the education of the race on a lower stage of its development. It was different from ours, because the imperfect development at that time made a different form of education necessary. It was not perhaps the best possible form of education even for the stage of development of the time; but, nevertheless, it did its work, and the product of it appeared in the art, and also we must conclude in the lives of the individual men that shared in it,—thousands of skilled artisans, artists, priests, teachers, philosophers, citizens, and statesmen. That we have few works of literature from this period is not strange since without the art of printing, the incentives to expressions of thought in this way were not so great as to-day; but what there was culminating in Dante is important. And the results of medieval science are considerable. As Whewell (47 I, p. 349) sums them up: "Parchment and paper, printing and engraving, improved glass and steel, gunpowder, clocks, telescopes, the mariner's compass, the reformed calendar, the decimal notation, algebra, trigonometry, chemistry, counterpoint (an invention equivalent to a new creation of music); these are all possessions which we inherit from that which has been so disparagingly termed the Stationary Period."

The schools of a period should be studied in relation to the social and industrial conditions and ideals; the educational movements in relation to contemporaneous literary, artistic, and political movements; educational doctrines in relation to prevailing philosophical, psychological, religious, and ethical ideas, and educational writers in relation to all of these.

It is neither scientific nor pedagogical to describe a man and his work in relation to education in the narrower sense, and to ignore his relation to the other culture movements of his time. For illustration, take Luther. As founder of the elementary school system in Germany, as champion of liberty of thought and the democratic ideal in education, as representative of broad views in regard to the schools and the work of the teacher, Luther's contribution to education has not been overestimated, but his attitude toward the general culture movement of his time has usually been omitted by the historians of education.

As I understand the relation of the great reformer and his work to this wider movement, it was as follows. So far as humanism was concerned, the Reformation distinctly checked it.

As Erasmus declared, wherever Lutheranism prevailed, the schools languished. As regards the indigenous factors of the Renaissance, we must stop for a few moments to note the intellectual and political conditions of Germany at this time.

The revival of the intellectual and moral life in Germany appeared in many different ways,—in the independence of thought and action, represented on one hand by the invincible Doctor, William of Occam, who in the 14th century maintained that the Pope had no right to interfere in secular matters, and on the other hand by many heretical sects, most of them more or less communistic in character, such as the Anabaptists, the Taborites, and the Bohemian Brethren; by the important linguistic movement represented by several translations of the Bible before Luther; by the indigenous art; and in the world of industry and commerce by the guilds, the cities and the great Hanseatic League, and especially in the political, industrial and social life, where a general condition of unrest prevailed. The poor peasant was beginning to revolt against the tyranny of money, which even shut the gates of Paradise to the poor, and to demand that the Kingdom of Heaven should bring divine justice upon earth between man and man. The modern ideals of freedom and equality were beginning to take distinct form. The German people were on the verge of a period of intellectual storm and stress, and in a general condition of instability, characteristic of a period of awakening and of anticipation. Such was the condition of Germany toward the close of the 15th century.

Just at this psychological moment, as we may call it, in the workshop of one of the German artisans, a marvelous thing occurred, namely, the development of the so-called "Black Art of Gutenberg," or the invention of printing. It is almost impossible for us to-day to realize the social, political and educational significance of this invention. It gave the means of distributing knowledge and disseminating the new ideals among all classes of the German people. In its influence upon the intellectual world it has been compared with the introduction of the use of money in commerce. Just as the latter made the capitalization and distribution of wealth possible, and furnished the means for modern co-operation in business, so the discovery of the art of printing made possible the capitalization and distribution of the wealth of the intellectual world, and the co-operation necessary

for great movements. Germany was flooded with pamphlets; artisans, tramps, and wandering scholars carried the new ideas everywhere.

"The decisive moment," says Preuss (35, p. 114), "when all these streams must join in one powerful and irresistible current, when the great expectations must be fulfilled and German development begin its victorious course seemed to have come when the Monk of Wittenberg raised his challenge against Rome. The echoes which these events awoke everywhere in Germany—concerned not only first of all the ecclesiastical reformation but a social and political revolution."

The social unrest culminated in the Peasants' War, which represents the same renaissance among the common people that humanism did among the scholars. The injustice from which the peasants suffered is sufficiently well known. The reasonableness of their demands is patent to everyone who will take the trouble to read the twelve articles which represented these demands.

[The attitude of Luther to this movement was directly contradictory to his general democratic position in education. Like most reformers, he was a disappointment. Apparently, he failed to see the significance of this industrial and political movement. He took sides with the princes, and in his astounding pamphlet addressed to the peasants descended to the only course open to a man who contradicts his own teachings and his own work, the use of anathemas.

To Luther the working people were merely cattle, and he exhorted the princes to kill and slay the peasants like mad dogs, and promised heaven to those who fell in the work. While he himself had been the apostle of revolution and had taught the duty of obeying God before man, he now became the mere leader of a sect, and maintained that the sword was placed in the hands of authority to punish the ungodly. As Mr. A. F. Pollard (57, II., p. 193) sums up the case:—"It is almost a commonplace with Lutheran writers to justify Luther's action on the ground that the Peasants' Revolt was revolutionary, unlawful, immoral, while the religious movement was reforming, lawful, and moral; but the hard and fast line which is thus drawn vanishes on a closer investigation. The peasants had no constitutional means wherewith to attain their ends, and there is no reason to suppose that

they would have resorted to force unless force had been prepared to resist them; if, as Luther maintained, it was the Christian's duty to tolerate worldly ills, it was incumbent on Christian Princes as well as on Christian peasants; and if, as he said, the Peasants' Revolt was a punishment divinely ordained for the Princes, what right had they to resist? Moreover, the Lutherans themselves were only content with constitutional means so long as they proved successful; when they failed Lutherans also resorted to arms against their lawful Emperor. Nor was there anything in the peasants' demands more essentially revolutionary than the repudiation of the Pope's authority and the wholesale appropriation of ecclesiastical property. The distinction between the two movements has for its basis the fact that the one was successful, the other was not; while the Peasants' Revolt failed, the Reformation triumphed, and then discarded its revolutionary guise and assumed the respectable garb of law and order."

As pointed out by Preuss (35), all the conditions seemed ready for bringing about in Germany in the 16th century a great political and social revolution, such as England experienced in the 17th century, and France in the 18th century. But the peasants were butchered; the cities in their conflict with the princes were beaten along the whole line; Humanism was checked by the Reformation; and thus the great renaissance movement which promised reform of abuses and new and higher social and political virtues, the development of the highest ideals in education, and in general a regeneration of the whole life of the people, was checked and narrowed, if not extinguished. Social and political hopes were disappointed. Humanism became narrow and scholastic, a mere matter of school-room pedagogy, and it was only in the relatively narrow field of German Protestantism that the new movement made remarkable progress.

The optimist may maintain that it was best that the energy of the great revival should be narrowed and focalized in the way it was. We are not now concerned with that question, but the relation of Luther to this great culture movement cannot be ignored by anyone who would treat the history of education thoroughly and honestly.

The study of education as an isolated phenomenon and the failure to note its wider culture aspects have naturally led to the

neglect of many important factors and to a narrow pedagogical view even of the writers treated.

The chief factors in education beside nature and the school are the following:

*(1) The Home,—the earliest and still in some countries the most important factor in education, a factor, as suggested by Roussiers' investigations, sometimes even in modern conditions more important than the school.

(2) The Church,—which has always been a factor of great importance not merely for moral and religious education but at certain periods the great conservator of knowledge and scholarship and the special agent for instruction in music, art, and manual training.

(3) Industry,—with its enormous educative influence, not merely in the industrial training of individuals, and by showing the dignity and significance of labor, but less directly by great inventions and discoveries, by the organizations of labor from the medieval Guilds to the modern Labor Unions, and by all the special agencies from the apprentice system to the modern Trade School.

(4) Society,—by its manifold agencies, with its emphasis upon form and good breeding, upon convention, which represents often the wisdom of the race, with its varied organizations, all of them appealing to the instinct of co-operation and all of them doing indirectly in some degree the things aimed at by modern *Sozial-pädagogik*.

(5) Politics,—in the older and better sense of the word, especially as illustrated by the educational significance of the medieval and renaissance city, and more widely by the intercourse and co-operation of different cities and different countries, as illustrated by the famous Hanseatic League in renaissance times, and in the present by the international congresses of art, science, and philanthropy, and as promised for the future by the Hague Court and similar movements.

(6) Last, but by no means least, the Playground, and all that it stands for,—spontaneous natural development of children, healthful activity, motor training in its varied forms, individuality and co-operation; in a single word, healthful development.

The special agents are parents, priests, teachers, merchants,

*The Labor Question in Britain

artisans, soldiers, sailors; social groups and organizations, guilds, clubs, labor unions; books, maps, apparatus, inventions, newspapers and periodicals; and all the various institutions social and scientific. The neglect of many of these by the historians of education is remarkable.

The learned societies are scarcely mentioned in the ordinary histories of education; and until Conradi (10) wrote his preliminary paper, no article giving a comprehensive account of them (so far as the writer is aware) existed. Yet at certain periods, these have had perhaps as important a part in education as the universities. Some of the modern sciences originated or were fostered in these learned societies, and men like Leibniz and Comenius who were not connected with the universities, or esteemed them of little value, found in these organizations opportunity for their scientific work and aid in their researches. The omission of any adequate account of these societies and the apparent ignorance of their existence on the part of some historians are simply grotesque.

The most important factor in education is supposed to be the teacher, and yet in no country except Germany, so far as I am aware, and in that country only for the teachers in the People's Schools, do we have any satisfactory history of the teaching profession. The importance and the interest of such a history is shown by Fisher's two volumes (12). During certain periods the most important teachers were private tutors; yet we learn little of them in most histories. Not merely in the homes of the great and in the courts of princes was the instruction given by private teachers, but also the artisans received much of their training from private instructors. This was notably true in the closing years of the Middle Ages, and at the Renaissance. Master workmen were the instructors. The same was true in legal and commercial education. A notable instance was that of Nicolas von Wyle (26, p. 13), who was Secretary at Nuremberg and afterwards City Secretary at Esslingen. He relates that many able youths, sons of honorable families and Bachelors of Arts from many quarters, boarded with him in order to be instructed in the art of writing and composition.

The education of girls has been almost entirely neglected by the historians. That this has its importance in the history of education, is illustrated by such works as those of Rousselot

(39) and Woodward (48), and the more popular work of Otto (32). The higher education of women began in the later centuries of the Middle Ages and at the Renaissance, when famous women were professors in the great universities; and the dawning emancipation of women and the recognition of the importance of their education was one of the noteworthy features of the great awakening.

Some of the famous women scholars from Vittoria Colonna to Madame Curie might well be mentioned in any history of education. Again one usually looks in vain in histories of education, except Compayré's, for the names of the great teachers and educational writers who have been women, notable among whom were Jacqueline Pascal, Madame de Maintenon, and Madame Necker. Madame Necker's "*L'Éducation progressive*" was one of the first and is still one of the valuable books on genetic pedagogy. It is amusing when textbooks in the history of education, destined to be used chiefly by girls, from fear of feminization of the readers, or other motive, fail to mention the great teachers who have been women, and give no account of the education of girls in modern times, nor mention any writer on woman's education more recent than Rousseau. In some of the histories one finds no satisfactory evidence that girls have ever attended public schools during the last two hundred years.

The whole matter of physical education and motor training has usually been slighted in the histories of education. Even Monroe's admirable Source Book omits the dialogue of Lucian on gymnastics (25) and the somewhat doubtful but important *Logos Gymnastikos* of Philostratus (34 and 8b); and in modern histories scant justice is done to Guts Muths, Jahn, and Ling (8b) and the great movements they represent.

Again the Guilds as a factor in education have not received justice. Not only were a large part of the schools of the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance founded by the Guilds (24), but in industrial education their influence was pre-eminent. A regular course of training was prescribed for all apprentices, including a year of travel, in order that the artisan might benefit by the best methods employed in other cities and other lands. And we find the first regulations for the training and examination of teachers in the German Teachers' Guilds of the 17th century (12).

The modern newspaper and periodical is an important factor

in education, as everybody knows, but the history of education has no place for it.

Teachers may be assumed to be familiar with one Daniel Defoe, and with a certain book called "Robinson Crusoe," yet I doubt if any of them learned in their Normal School or College course in education that this same Daniel Defoe edited a periodical called the *Review*, and that this was the forerunner of the weekly periodicals in England, of which the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were the most noted, and of the *Patriot* in Hamburg and the famous German Weeklies that had such a great influence in the intellectual and moral education of the 18th century (19, p. 112).

To mention the important names omitted or slighted by the histories of education would require a volume. If one wishes illustration, let him consult the ordinary history in regard to the great schoolmasters like Vittorino (48a and 8a); the educators of courtiers and princes like Castiglione (48) and Condillac; typical men of culture and representatives of home education like Alberti (48); the dreamers and fools who have sketched utopias like Campanella (2); educational statesmen like Leibniz (19); and rare pedagogical geniuses like Herder (49).

Even the well-known educational writers, such as the Reformers treated by Quick in his excellent little book, have usually been inadequately studied. Only part of their writings have been considered and their work has been presented without regard to the environment of the men, the soil from which they sprang, and the influence of their work in the history of civilization. And the accounts of these reformers have not gained in accuracy because, as often happens, the interesting and picturesque features in their careers and the wider relations of their work have been suppressed.

Comenius (9 and 54),—the product of that remarkable democratic and religious community, the "Bohemian Brethren," the author of textbooks famous the world over, and of the classic "Didactica Magna," which embodies that nucleus of common sense principles of education accepted by all the competent; a pioneer in the study of nature and of childhood, who in spite of his crude analogies, suggested the true method and is rightly called the Bacon in education; dreamer and mystic, who anticipated the future not only in methods for the infant school and all grades to the University, but who projected an International

University for scientific study, still the ideal of the future; hero of defeat, a man, the tragedy and pathos of whose life would claim our interest had he never written a word; the "prince of schoolmasters," member of learned societies, sneered at by the pedants and welcomed by the great men of his day, to whom Adelung (2) devotes a chapter in his "History of Human Folly," and of whom the great Leibniz prophesied that the time would come when all the good and wise would recognize his contributions (9, p. 97). The historians have often reduced him to the narrow limits of school pedagogy, have not understood his environment, have failed to grasp his method and his ideals, and apparently never read that famous Bohemian Pilgrim's Progress, "The Labyrinth of the World" (9a).

And Rousseau,—“Poor Jean Jacques! . . . with all misfortunes of nature, intensified to the verge of madness by unfavorable fortune, . . . in whom however did lie prophetic meaning, such as none of the others offer.” As to his character, Moebius (27) has pretty well demonstrated that he was pathological, and that his Confessions was the apologia of a paranoiac. Let us leave that to the alienists. As to his pedagogy, most of us know it from a torso of the *Emile*, and its errors are obvious. A cat can look at a king, and a dog can bay the moon, and every cat's mistress, and dog's master that ever taught school, can criticise Rousseau, but it is better to learn his message and understand his meaning. To do this, we must take the *Emile* in connection with Rousseau's other writings; at least in connection with the *Social Contract* and the *New Heloise*; for these, as Morley (30) points out, form one whole. Davidson (11) has at last done justice to Rousseau's influence, and the significance of his writings in the history of pedagogy is now apparent. He stands as a focal point in the history of education, summing up a tendency and embodying a doctrine that began with the Greek Sophists and is prophetic of the whole modern movement that emphasizes natural development and the rights of childhood. More directly and concretely he was a John the Baptist preaching repentance in a desert of scholasticism and convention and preparing the way for the gospel of Pestalozzi.

Again Pestalozzi!—that “Harry Oddstick of Fooltown,” philanthropist without knowing often where the next meal would come from, teacher, though scarcely able to write correctly and unable

to pass the examination of today for the humblest position of rural schoolmaster, but author of the soundest pedagogy, student of childhood by poetic insight, psychologist in the methods of instruction, and most significant of all, protagonist of home education, pedagogical socialist and prophet of the social development of modern times.

And on German soil another follower of Rousseau,—Basedow! Was he not four different kinds of a crank, whom Herder declared he would not trust to educate a calf? Sitting up all night to write pedagogical manuscript that he should have burned the next morning, turning the school into play, feeding his pupils on pedagogical cookies, but forcing his own child, that *Wunderkind* of the "Philanthropinum" (49, p. 222), in a way that makes pedagogy stand aghast, and would lead modern hygiene to flog him,—at the age of eighteen months could she not speak her mother tongue distinctly, at three years of age did she not learn to read in one month, and three months later speak French, and in six weeks more read it, and begin Latin at the age of four and one-half, and learn arithmetic, drawing, writing, cooking, knitting and sewing, and withal give attention to nature and theology? So sadly had her father misunderstood Rousseau's ideal, which he thought to make real,—who nevertheless saw and made clear to the German nation that education must be natural, and have to do with things and not words, and prepare not for the school but for life.

The time would fail me to tell of Froebel, the evolutionist in education, who in spite of mysticism, taught the true pedagogy of out of doors and the spontaneous, healthful development of childhood. And of Richter, the pedagogical poet, whose poor *Levana* contains real gold and who is found worthy of study for a whole semester in a German university, and of Herbart, who discovered to the pedagogical world "the golden gates of apperception." Of Spencer also, whose educational doctrines are by no means confined to his essay on education, and of Huxley and of Ruskin, whose names seldom appear in the pages of educational history.

Such are some of the gaps and defects in our ordinary histories of education, and I fancy in some of our courses on this subject. The history of education must fill these gaps and take account of the wider social and culture aspects of education if it

is to be in the highest degree interesting, vital, and truthful. The objection may naturally be raised that such a view of educational history leads to the futile demand of Freeman, that the historian ought to know everything. Not at all, but it does make it necessary that the historical student of education should recognize the limits of his own knowledge and ability and should specialize enough to be honest in his work.

Two dangers are liable to be connected with such a method of studying history. On the one hand, Froude's Disease (23, p. 125), on the other hand the danger of hypercriticism, pedantry, and slavery to details. Both of these dangers can, I believe, be avoided, but it is well to consider them.

The first, as pointed out by Langlois, is a disease characterized by "chronic inaccuracy;" it takes its name from the English historian Froude, who was the classic case. "Froude was a gifted writer," says Langlois, "but destined never to advance any statement that was not disfigured by error;" it has been said of him that he was constitutionally inaccurate. For example, he had visited the city of Adelaide in Australia: 'We saw,' says he, 'below us, in a basin with a river winding through it, a city of 150,000 inhabitants, none of whom has ever known or will ever know one moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day.' Thus Froude, now for the facts: Adelaide is built on an eminence; no river runs through it; when Froude visited it the population did not exceed 75,000, and it was suffering from a famine at the time" (23, p. 125).

The other danger is well described by Langlois: "The habit of critical analysis has a relaxing and paralyzing action on certain intelligences. Men, of naturally timid dispositions, discover that, whatever pains they take with their critical work, their editing or classifying of documents, they are very apt to make slight mistakes, and these fill them with horror and dread. To discover blunders in their signed work when the time for correction is past, causes them acute suffering. They reach at length a state of morbid anxiety and scrupulosity which prevents them from doing anything at all, for fear of possible imperfections. The *examen rigorosum* to which they are continually subjecting themselves brings them to a standstill. They give the same measure to the productions of others, and in the end they see in historical works nothing but the authorities and the notes, the *apparatus criticus*,

and in the *apparatus criticus* they see nothing but the faults in it which require correction.

"The excess of criticism, just as much as the crudest ignorance, leads to error. It consists in the application of critical canons to cases outside their jurisdiction. It is related to criticism as logic-chopping is to logic. There are persons who scent enigmas everywhere, even where there are none. They take perfectly clear texts and subtilize on them till they make them doubtful, under the pretext of freeing them from imaginary corruptions. They discover traces of forgery in authentic documents. A strange state of mind! By constantly guarding against the instinct of credulity they come to suspect everything. It is to be observed that in proportion as the criticism of texts and sources makes positive progress, the danger of hypercriticism increases. When all the sources of history have been properly criticised (for certain parts of ancient history this is no distant prospect), good sense will call a halt. But scholars will refuse to halt; they will refine, as they do already on the best established texts, and those who refine will inevitably fall into hypercriticism. 'The peculiarity of the study of history and its auxiliary philological sciences,' says Renan, 'is that as soon as they have attained their relative perfection they begin to destroy themselves.' Hypercriticism is the cause of this" (23, pp. 130-132).

These dangers, however, beset the student in any form of historical study, and yet it is not impossible to avoid them.

Thus far, I have myself employed largely the negative and critical method. That this paper may not be entirely unpedagogical, I wish to add a few positive suggestions.

Two kinds of courses in the history of education should be given. Courses of a distinctly practical nature aiming to give that nucleus of common sense pedagogy which every teacher should have and an acquaintance with the doctrines of the great educational reformers, are important, especially perhaps in Normal Schools; but it is not my function to speak of them. Besides these, culture courses should be given for advanced students; and they should be as interesting and solid in their scientific character and as significant for their culture value as any of the courses in general history. They should aim to develop permanent interests in the history of education. My thesis is that this aim will be better attained by a limited course in a portion

of the field where the material is rich and varied, where many important contributions have already been made, and where the teacher is familiar with the subject-matter, than by a general course that attempts to cover the whole field of education. In a course on a limited period it would be possible to consider the wider relations, to present the writings of educators in connection with the philosophical and social ideas of the time, to study the schools in their relation to life, and by treating the large aspects of the culture movement of the period the function of the school would be seen in proper perspective, and the vital and interesting aspects of educational movements would be made clear.

The importance of such culture courses hardly needs to be emphasized here. All the great questions of today, the problems of social reform, of philanthropy and politics, and even to a large extent the problems of hygiene and psychiatry, are educational questions. The great danger in all these fields is that the reformer may see only one principle, true enough in itself, without seeing the way it is modified by some related principle, and that one fail to see the relations of the different factors in social evolution. For a single, concrete example; it is a great error if the educator exaggerates the importance of the school and fails to see the significance of the other factors in education—the home, the church, a society and the rest,—an error that results from studying school education as an isolated phenomenon.

It is desirable that culture courses of the kind suggested should at once be given in our colleges and universities in those parts of the field where sufficient material already exists. For a concrete illustration, a competent man with an insight into the wider social and political relations of education, with the ability to see the special educational influences in a country in right perspective, could give a culture course in ancient Greek education of first-rate value. The mere mention of some of the books that would naturally form the nucleus of such a course is sufficient to show that there is material already at hand for it (8). Among the books would naturally be: Grasberger's *Erziehung und Unterricht im klassischen Alterthum* (16); Girard's *L'éducation Athénienne* (15); Monroe's *Source Book in the history of education for the Greek and Roman Period* (28); Freeman's *Schools of Hellas* (13), and Jowett's *Translation of the Republic of Plato*, and Nettleship's *Theory of Education in the Republic of Plato*.

The ancient Greek nation offers an unusual opportunity for the study of education as a factor in the development of a cultured people, because, as the older philologists like F. A. Wolf pointed out, the culture of the ancient Greek nation was in a large degree complete, and it is possible, in its literature, institutions, monuments, and works of art, to study the various factors that contributed to the production of the Greek character as a cultivated nation. In a word, the data are all in.

Another opportunity for such a course is the Renaissance period, with perhaps Burckhardt's *Renaissance in Italy* (7), the second volume of Sandys *History of Classical Scholarship* (now in press) (40). Woodward's *Studies in Education during the age of the Renaissance* (48), as a nucleus, and with references to Kehrbach's *Mitteilungen* (53) and to standard works on art and literature.

Still another course might be devoted to the century following the Thirty Years' War, with Heubaum's *Geschichte* (19) as a text-book, and with special study of the writings and influence of Comenius, Locke, and Leibniz.

Such are the courses desirable in the college. For university students, lecture courses of more advanced character may be given, these especially for the purpose of outlining subjects and giving suggestions; while the more important work will be that of research in fruitful parts of the field.

The following are the contributions needed in the present condition of the history of education:

1. Collections of texts, manuscripts, journals, letters, laws, records, text-books, and of original data from all sources.
2. Based upon these source books (like Monroe's) (28), histories of special movements and schools like Brown's (6), monographs, and the like. These should be the work of competent students following modern historical methods, and considering education as a part of the history of culture. Fortunately we have examples of such work;—many of them in German; and in English a few, notably Woodward's contributions (48 and 48a).
3. Histories of education confined to periods sufficiently limited to enable the writers to treat the wider social and culture aspects of education. Heubaum's *Geschichte* (19) suggests the type.
4. A series of simple primers of the history of education in

each country, such as the little History of German education by Dr. Seiler (44); these to present in simple language, the main features of the educational history of a country, mention the men of first rate importance, and outline the present organization of education.

Nothing would add more to the dignity of the subject than such contributions. It would seem desirable that this society should attempt such work. The opportunities are manifold. All the gaps mentioned in this paper afford such opportunities; and the whole field of American education lies open for investigation. If, each year, one single monograph of thoroughly scientific character were published by this society, such contributions would soon alter the whole character of our college and university courses in the history of education. Just as soon as we have a solid body of such scientific studies, and just as soon as we have competent teachers who are familiar with them, no College can afford to omit culture courses in the history of education from its curriculum. The field is fruitful and wide, and now when we are beginning to see that wars and political events are not the whole of history, the opportunity for educational research is promising.

I have given in this paper a few illustrations of the defects of our histories of education, and presumably, of some of our courses in the history of education, and I have mentioned representative books which may be helpful in the development of culture courses. Students, I am told, sometimes find the history of education uninteresting. This suggests that something is wrong. I would submit that if the history of education is not interesting it is not truthful. The wider relations, the culture aspects of education, are always vital and interesting. The method advocated in this paper is the way to make the history of education interesting. It is the only method in harmony with the latest scientific methods in the field of general history, and, finally, it is the only way thoroughly and honestly to study the subject.

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The Professional Use of the History of Education

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GENERAL. OUTLINE OF THE DISCUSSION.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. Skepticism as to the professional worth of the subject.
 - a. The criticism of its subject matter and its presentation.
2. Judgment of worth in potentiality rather than in past service.
 - a. Transient nature of prevalent defects.
3. Treatment offered as a basis for discussion.
 - a. View of administrative status of subject.
 - b. Tentative principles for selection and organization of subject matter.

II. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

1. Its historic standing in universities.
2. Its present important place.
 - a. Number of institutions offering courses.
 - b. Number of students taking the course.
3. The six types of treatment.
 - a. General, introductory courses.
 - b. More intensive courses, treating general or special aspects.
 - c. Courses in the history of education in America.
 - d. Courses in theoretic writings.
 - e. Seminars or courses studying sources.
 - f. History as a method in other courses.

4. The general introductory course alone has widespread status.
 - a. Sometimes combined with an introduction to theory.
 - b. In use it is introductory to the study of education.
 - c. The usual time allotment.
 - d. Standing required of student for admission.
 - e. Summary of the administrative status of the general introductory course.
 - (1) A general introductory course open to juniors, and covering three periods a week during the academic year.
5. Three types of students and their needs.
 - a. The specialist in history.
 - b. The liberal arts student.
 - c. The special student of education.
 - d. An ideal arrangement would dictate three courses.
6. Advanced and specialized work in the history of education should be sharply differentiated from that for other students.
 - a. The needs and methods are somewhat opposed.
 - b. Existing conditions in university and professional school permit it.
 - c. This opportunity for differentiation not utilized.
7. The history of education as general culture and as a first professional view may be combined in one course.
 - a. The indefinite relation between liberal school and professional department of education seems a practical obstacle to separation.
 - b. If the professional course is introductory rather than final, the necessity for separation seems lessened.
 - (1) The traditional nature of education as a social work requires a preliminary historic treatment.
 - (2) The established procedure corroborates the theoretic demand.
 - c. The relations and demands of an introductory professional view and those of a general culture student, do not justify two separate courses.
 - (1) Command of academic subject matter of culture one large aspect of professional skill.
 - (2) General student has an intimate acquaintance with the school and its practices.

- (3) The first professional need is similar to that of the general student.
- (4) The more specialized needs of the professional student may be met later.
- 8. The standard for such an introductory professional course should be about three periods a week throughout an academic year of from thirty to thirty-four weeks.
 - a. Established practical conditions suggest this norm.
 - b. Any change upon purely theoretic grounds would involve difficulties beyond easy control.

III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION FOR PROFESSIONAL USE IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

- 1. The three opportunities for professional presentation.
 - a. The general introductory course.
 - b. Further course treatments.
 - c. Supplementary uses of history method and material.
- 2. The mixed organization of the general introductory course.
 - a. The conglomerate as the tradition.
 - (1) Isolated attitudes as moulding forces.
 - (2) Lines of least resistance.
 - b. Variation in present practice and opinion.
- 3. The need of an adequate and unified point of view.
 - a. Adequate conception of educational process necessary.
 - b. Some assumptions as to the nature of education.
- 4. The limiting purposes of a professional course.
 - a. School education.
 - b. The organization of knowledge by action.
 - c. The appreciation of present problems and needs.
- 5. The aspects and relations to be treated.
 - a. The school's two modes of adjustment.
 - (1) External and internal.
 - b. Social adjustments.
 - (1) The school and society.
 - (2) The school and other institutions.
 - c. Psychological adjustments.
 - (1) Special methods of instruction and discipline.
 - d. The complete relating of theory and practice.
 - e. Suggestive topics.

6. Historic scope and treatment of the course.
 - a. Pertinency to the present as a standard of selection.
 - b. Pertinency to present not to be confused with recency.
 - c. Continuity to be maintained in treatment.
 - d. Limiting of scope to main line of historic descent.
 - e. Epochal treatment supplemented by a review through aspects.
7. More advanced courses are specialized and supplementary.
8. The use of history as an incidental method in educational study.
9. Subsequent course and incidental treatments will meet special intensive needs of specialized classes of students.

I. INTRODUCTION.

Of late there has been a growing skepticism among practical educational workers with regard to the worth of the history of education. Considerable criticism has accompanied a belief that it has not been a sufficiently useful professional tool. In the minds of these critics it has not always been clear whether the difficulty is inherent in the subject matter, or in the manner in which such knowledge is treated. Certain, it is, that men who tend to see the whole present-day educational problem in the device and method of teaching alone, are inclined to regard the whole subject as a rather heavy investment of energy for a very small return. On the other hand, it seems equally certain, that those who view the modern educational situation in its broader aspects, who see in education a large social movement interplaying with many other forces in our civilization, are inclined to regard the whole historic aspect of our professional work with more favor. The criticism of such as these would fall not upon the subject but upon its treatment. Whatever be the cause of the discontent, the problem of the worth of the history of education is before us. More particularly speaking, the problem is of the professional value of the history of education, for it is largely upon professional grounds and from professional workers that the discontent is voiced. The worth of the history of education as "history" or as "culture" seems less in question, at any rate.

The use which the subject has in professional terms is not to be judged from its somewhat restricted past service. What the

history of education *may become* is a fairer standard than what it *has been*. The lack of trained instructors, the fragmentary organization of the field, the absence of a unifying point of view, along with other less important causes, have conspired to keep the history of education from rendering its highest service to the profession. As we can overcome these prevalent defects, more or less transient in their nature, the history of education as a body of educational experience will render increased professional service. Frank discussion of its possibilities is required in order to bring clearly to mind the prevalent inadequacies of our subject and its treatment, and to find the ways and means by which the subject may be better organized. This paper is offered as a basis for such discussion.

In its treatment this paper involves: (1) a view of the administrative status of the teaching of the history of education in the American university, so that the conditions largely controlling the administrative regulation of the subject may be kept in mind; and (2) the suggestion of principles for the better selection and organization of the subject-matter of the history of education for professional use.

II. THE ADMINISTRATIVE STATUS OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION.

Any plan for the reorganization of the history of education as a professional subject must not be so completely out of touch with present conditions that it may not be realized. It will have a due regard for conditions and practices as they are. Indeed, it will contribute to progress precisely because it is a plan for the realization of the new through the reconstruction of the old. Hence a knowledge of the administrative relations of the history of education as a subject to departmental and general university organization is an important basis for any discussion of the professional use of the subject. In fact these administrative relations represent limiting conditions, for they are the factors which are least flexible in the hands of the department of education or the instructor of this particular educational subject. What then has been the administrative status of the history of education?

Traditionally, the history of education has occupied a favored place in the scheme of educational studies. When the first signifi-

cant professorship in the "science and art of teaching" was created at the University of Michigan in 1879, the history of education was made a considerable part of one of the two professional courses offered.* By the year 1902, less than a quarter of a century later, almost two hundred institutions offered some opportunity for study in this field.†

In view of the rapid extension of professional work in education throughout university circles, in the last half dozen years, it is altogether likely that the number of institutions offering the history of education is now far beyond two hundred. From the beginning, the history of education has had an accepted place in university study. The subject matter and the names of other courses within the general field of education might indicate the greatest conceivable variation, but the one stock course, the subject matter of which might be prophesied with some degree of certainty, has been the history of education. In all the uncertain organization of our educational ideas and practices, the historic aspect has seemed the most definite and the most tangible. Between the criticisms of scholars in more advanced fields of scientific endeavor, and the patient efforts of educational theorists to organize their fields, the history of education has stood as a kind of protection, a guarantee of solidarity in subject matter.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the history of education should be, in a sense, the most conspicuous course in the department of education. As a fundamental requisite for the special student of education and as an elective for the general undergraduate body, it has been offered more widely than any other course. The reports on the distribution of students among various educational courses made for thirty-one colleges and universities‡ for the academic year 1906-1907, by the members

* Hinsdale, B. A. The training of teachers, p. 35, in Butler's *Education in the U. S.*, vol. I.

† Norton, A. O. Scope and aims of the history of education, in *Educational Review*, vol. 27, p. 443.

‡ The colleges and universities making up the list of thirty-one institutions used throughout this paper include the following: Alabama, Brown, Bryn Mawr, California, Cornell, Columbia, Drake, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Leland Stanford, Miami, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Northwestern, North Dakota, New York Univ., Ohio State, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rochester, Syracuse, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia, Wisconsin. This more or less arbitrary list has been used in this paper so as to keep its organization in harmony with the paper presented by Professor Bolton last year.

of the Society of College Teachers of Education* seem to indicate fairly well the status of the history of education. Certain irregularities in the statistics make the figures imperfectly representative; but they are certainly indicative of the general position which the history of education occupies.

TABLE, representing reports from 31 colleges and universities, showing number of institutions offering the specific courses named, and the total number of students from all colleges enrolled in each, during the academic year, 1905-1906.

Names of courses offered	Number of colleges giving course	Total number students enrolled
Child Study	11	480
Genetic Psychology	4	105
Mental Development	4	150
Educational Psychology.....	15	1049
Principles of Education	16	1134
Philosophy of Education	14	525
Educational Theory	12	590
History of Education	27	1996
Educational Classics	6	118
General Method	12	629
Special Methods	9	1007
Observation	2	25
Practice Teaching	5	52
School Management	10	588
School Supervision	8	240
Elementary Education	9	449
Secondary Education	20	619
School Systems	8	130
Contemporary Education	6	185
School Law	3	87
School Administration	10	330
School Hygiene	4	101
Journal Club	3	47

* Frederick E. Bolton. The relation of the department of education to other departments in colleges and universities. *Journal of Pedagogy*, vol. XIX, Nos. 2 and 3 (December, 1906, and March, 1907).

Of these thirty-one colleges and universities four did not report any enrollment in courses in the history of education.

The four institutions reporting no enrollment were Bryn Mawr, Indiana, Iowa and Oregon. The latest available catalogues of the four above named institutions* show that Bryn Mawr now announces a course called merely "Education" which "deals with the great educators and their systems considered with reference to the problems of today." Indiana and Iowa both announce courses in the "history of education." Oregon gives a four-hour introductory course extending through the year, two of the four parts of which are devoted to historical aspects of education. One institution giving an enrollment, Pennsylvania, does not announce a course in the history of education in its more recent catalogue. It may be said then that practically every one of the thirty-one institutions has recently offered a course in the history of education to its students.

The courses in which the history of education is given by these various institutions of higher learning vary in type. They may be roughly grouped under six heads. These are:

- (1) General courses, introductory to the subject, usually covering European history from ancient to modern period.
- (2) More advanced courses covering more intensively the whole or some part or aspect of the first course.
- (3) Courses in the history of education in America, supplementing the European history course.
- (4) Courses in educational classics covering the theoretic writings of great educational reformers.
- (5) Most advanced courses using published source material or investigating history of education from original materials.
- (6) Incidental use of historical treatment in courses not primarily historical.

While practically all the thirty institutions offer a course of some sort in the history of education, there is considerable range in the number, nature, purpose, and time allotment of these courses.

Whether one, five or more courses be offered, there is usually

* See Bryn Mawr University Program, 1907-1908; University of Indiana Catalog, 1906; University of Iowa Catalogue, 1905-1906; University of Oregon Announcement, 1904-1905.

one general course covering the development of education during the ancient mediaeval and modern periods. As this course comes very early in the work of the student of education, if it is not actually introductory, there is sometimes a more advanced course which is a more detailed or technical treatment of the whole or some special part of the field covered by the general course. In the case of Columbia this is as an advanced section of the regular introductory course. At Iowa, North Dakota and Missouri, it seems to be a distinct but advanced course covering the same field. At Northwestern, it is a year course on the modern period; at Michigan, it is on the "Educational theory of the Greeks"; at Syracuse, it is on the relation of philosophic and educational development. Columbia presents an advanced course in the history of education in England.

For the most part, the general and advanced courses mentioned above deal necessarily with educational development in Europe, but the emphasis is retained even during the last three centuries, when America has an educational history of its own. In some cases the connection between European development and American conditions is indicated, the continuity traced, but such seems not to be the general practice.

Some institutions offer courses in the history of education in America as supplementary to European history. Among these are California, Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Stanford, Missouri and North Dakota. They are always more advanced courses than the general course mentioned, in most cases open only to graduates and the most advanced undergraduates.

The most frequent additional course is not, either the more intensive treatment found in the so-called "advance course," or the supplementary course in the "history of education in America." Courses in the study of "Educational Classics," "Great Educators" or "Great Theorists" appear more frequently than any other, save the usual beginning course. Among the institutions giving such a course are: California, Columbia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Northwestern, New York, Ohio State, Syracuse, Tennessee and Wisconsin.

Then, there are courses of the most advanced type, courses for research dealing with source material. California, Miami and Stanford give courses in the "Sources of the History of Education." Columbia, Harvard, Illinois, Missouri and New

York give "Seminars" in the history of education. These latter, at any rate, are usually strictly graduate courses.

Finally, in addition to these various types of courses given in the history of education, there are the historical treatments of the subject appearing incidentally in other courses not primarily historical. An historical introduction to courses in the theory and practice of education is quite frequently employed. Other incidental historic treatments of special topics here and there throughout the course are usual. Here the historical treatment, like the comparative, is one means of giving a clear presentation of the course in theory or practice. Any full treatment of the status of the history of education will involve all the ways in which the subject is utilized, whether as a complete course or as an incidental means employed within a course.

It is the general history of education given as the only course of its kind, or as an introduction to subsequent study of the historical aspects of education, which is represented in practically all of the institutions listed. It is this ancient, mediaeval and modern history course, which has been given to educational students almost universally, that is of prime importance, for it is the one course that all students of education get. By tradition its place seems to be fixed as a general introduction, not only to its own historic aspect of education study, but to the theory and practice of education in general. As it is with reference to the worth of such a course that most of our discussion arises, some more detailed consideration of the status of this particular course may be valuable.

Of thirty such introductory courses in the history of education, twenty-one devote the entire assigned time of the course strictly to the historic treatment of education. Nine combine some work in the theory, or principles, of education with the history.* Of these nine, four begin with a theoretic treatment. The other five begin with history and end with theory. In such combination courses from one-third to one-half the time allotment is given to theory. The courses giving a combined historic and theoretic treatment tend to have a larger time allotment.

* Courses presenting a continuity through the two or three terms of the year, and given at the same days and hours, with the same credit basis, with traditionally related subject-matter, have been counted as practically one course.

No course restricted to history exceeds six points of credit for the year.* Some fall as low as three points. On the other hand no combination history-theory course falls below six points, while some allot as high as eight and ten points. In each of the nine cases where the history and principles, or theory, of education is given, the course seems designed to be an introduction to the study of the field of education.

Of the twenty-one courses which give the history of education without any general theory as part of the course, it may be said, that they are generally courses designed to introduce the subject of education. In at least seven of these cases, the history of education is probably not the first course recommended or required of the student of education. At Drake University, the only course in the history of education is the last to be named in the list of courses. At Indiana, Iowa, Stanford, Ohio, Texas and Wellesley, the history course has preceding it some course which gives the preliminary or introductory course in educational theory. Sometimes such theoretic course is called "principles of education," "introduction," "elementary pedagogy," or some similar title is given.

The first course in the history of education is most frequently a six-point course, meeting three times a week throughout the academic year. In seventeen cases, six points of credit are given for the course; in three cases, four points, in one case, three.

The prevalent standing required for admission to a course in the history of education is junior class or third year standing in the college. Out of thirty cases, it is not always possible to gather the position of the course, for in fourteen cases the course is placed under the general classification, "for undergraduates," or some equally broad title. But twelve colleges indicate the course as open to third year students; two, as open in the second year; one in the first year; and one in the fourth year.

Ignoring the variations and presenting the uppermost tendencies, one may summarize the administrative status of the history of education by saying that practically all departments of edu-

* As a norm for this paper a point of credit means one hour of lecture or recitation per week through a half year. This norm is necessitated by the fact that some colleges count "by courses taken" and others on the basis of "hours of class work." Sometimes this reckoning is for a term or an academic year, and an academic year may be made up of two, three or four terms.

cation give one course in the history of education as introductory to the field of educational study in general. The course is open to junior or third year standing, and covers three periods a week throughout the academic year. In subject matter the course covers the ancient, mediaeval and modern periods of educational history, in Europe. The European Emphasis is generally found even in the late modern period.

The fundamental organization of our American university life imposes another condition in the placing and treating of the history of education. If instruction is offered in the history of education, three types of students with three separate points of views present themselves for the subject.

(1) There will be the special student of history who has the interest of an advanced student in the intensive and investigative aspect of history study. He may be primarily interested in political and social history of the dominant type, seeking a side light from the one aspect of institutional history known as educational, or he may be an advanced student in the educational department specializing in the historic aspects with the ultimate idea of teaching and investigating educational history.

Such a student will be interested in almost any fact which bears a relation to educational development. The needs of history as a continuity will guide him toward the gaps in human knowledge, for the closing of those gaps with any truths he may be able to discover, will be important to him. A chance document, however remote in interest it may be from the person of general culture or however distant its influence upon present day educational problems, will be significant to him. His is the attitude of research. His is the same need of exact truth and all truth that the biological investigator has in his scientific laboratory.

(2) There will be another type of student who will have another need of the subject. The American college student following a liberal course of study will be no specialist in history or in education. He has no specialist's interests in either of these two aspects of the subject. His want is satisfied when as a member of a democratic community, controlling and realizing itself largely through educational agencies, he has attained a knowledge of and an appreciation for the historic forces which are operating in our present educational situation. He holds, in common

with the other citizens of the society in which he lives, a certain relationship to the school and the other social institutions. This relationship carries with it the obligation to understand its conditions, its aims and its methods. The history of education in so far as it sheds light upon these needs and problems is an instrument for the appreciation of the school in terms of his unspecialized human obligations to it. The history of education with its wide stretches of detail that historic investigation reveals, or with the emphasis upon the technical aspects of administrative and teaching method which are important to the professional worker will not be identical with the necessities of his point of view. For him the history of education is not primarily scholarship. It is citizenship. For him it is not professional, but liberal and cultural.

(3) In the university there will be a third type of student, the prospective teacher or leader in educational work. To him the historic treatment is a professional tool. He approaches the field with the need of a technician. The subject is one aspect of professional training. He will need stretches of detailed information that will extend beyond any desires of the liberally educated citizen. But these stretches of detail will have a different distribution, emphasis and organization from that of the investigator. He will need to know the historic situation from the standpoint of the particular intellectual mode which his professional duties lay upon him.

Much of the confusion in the organization of the field has been due to a failure to appreciate the existing types of student which are to be found within a university, and the full validity of the point of view which each represents. The result has been a varied practice and opinion, and a failure of the course as measured by any one of the three standards. As a "history course" it has not compared favorably in material or methods with those given in the department of history. As general culture it has grubbed needlessly after teaching technique or truth just for truth's own sake. As professional preparation it has shed but a shadowy gray light on situations which have been the source of greatest anxiety to the practical worker. The clear perception of the worth of three points of view and their legitimate demands of the subject seems

the first requirement in any new and better organization of the field.

To the university which is sufficiently fortunate in time, professors, student and money allotment to have three distinct treatments of the field, the problem of the proper organization of the history of education is somewhat simplified. The number and the kinds of courses which shall be given in a university are however not determined upon the ideal demands of logic and efficiency alone. Administrative conditions in American university life, as we find them, are legitimate limiting factors. A professor of the history of education might be thoroughly cognizant of the three possible typical treatments of the field and yet fail to see how they are to be related in existing institutions as they are now organized.

It will be less obvious, but no less real that the scientific point of view of the modern investigation in history, seeking truth for its own sake without reference to practical conduct, is quite completely differentiated from that of the cultural and professional students for whom the facts of history represent special selections of materials, selections which are always made with some reference to their ability to increase the appreciation or expression of the best in human conduct. Cultural and professional courses present facts that primarily illuminate the general problems of the citizen and the special problems of the teacher, respectively. The same type of perspective is not present with the modern investigator in history.

It will perhaps be readily admitted that any introductory course in the history of education, which is the sole view of the general student, and the first view of the prospective teacher, stands at the opposite pole of maturity from such work as an investigator would choose to do with the subject. The opposing points of view should be separated. Their treatment should be considerably different in time, maturity and organizing point of view. The administrative arrangement in our higher institutions here favors us. The fairly sharp demarkation between undergraduate and graduate schools is already sufficiently established to permit of the assignment of the liberal and the introductory professional treatment to the undergraduate division, and of the more intensive historic study of education to the graduate period. Even where professional schools of education exist more or less as entities,

as at the Teachers College, Columbia University, the same line of differentiation is found as in the university proper. *The advanced and specialized study of the history of education by the more intensive and scholarly methods of the modern historian, should, then, be sharply differentiated from that of other students.* Such a disposition of the fields is both desirable and, under existing university conditions, feasible.

In spite of this opportunity for the separation of the introductory and the advanced study of the subject, the convenience of condition has not been wholly seized. Under the indiscriminating scorn and comment of their scientific colleagues, some men in the educational departments have attempted to meet the criticisms of their fellows by making the course a mere piece of history study. A command of facts in exquisite detail has been demanded without a due regard for the relativity of worth which facts have for cultural and professional purposes. Scholarship is very much needed in the history of education, for too many of the men who teach it, deeply interested in other aspects of education, are, in practice at any rate, somewhat indifferent to the scholarship required to teach the subject properly. But scientific scholarship in history with its own peculiar points of view should not intrude itself beyond its proper function. It has the business of establishing facts as such, but the selection and treatment of these facts for cultural and practical purposes has its own standards, and they should be observed. History in the department of history may be history, but history in the department of education is education. The administrative assignment of work is no chance matter. The difference in departmental points of view has been a factor in the distribution of historic courses and it needs to be observed in the treatment of the subject matter.

When we come to the consideration of the respective demands of the cultural and professional points of view, we find no such accommodating administrative demarkation as we did when considering the scientific study of educational history. On the contrary we are confronted at once with an indefinite boundary line between the school of liberal arts and the professional department of education. Sometimes to be sure the department of education is clearly differentiated with a separate organization of its own which is the case with the Teachers College at Colum-

bia University and the School of Education at the University of Chicago. More usually it hovers on the edges of the school of liberal arts, half professional and half academic, as at Leland Stanford Junior University. Sometimes it practically dominates the liberal school as in the case of the University of Missouri. It is probable that this administrative condition, with the underlying interdependence of needs which largely accounts for it, is to a considerable degree a sanction for the prevalent practice of offering but one course, at once an elective for the man seeking a liberal education and a prerequisite for the student of education.

Is this practice inconsistent with the needs of the cultural and the professional student? If the professional course in the history of education comes late in the career of the prospective teacher, his highly specialized needs would certainly make the course considerably different from such a first general view as would be given the student of liberal arts. Under such an arrangement there would need to be two separate courses, a practice different from that which we now know.

But there are several important reasons which make a generally required professional course in the history of education a beginning rather than an advanced or final course, a consideration of which may modify the apparent necessity for two courses. In the first place, one of the first necessities in the understanding of any social institution and its work is a clear appreciation of those traditional factors which are operating in the present situation. Natural science may look at directly its facts, made independently of human agency, and be comparatively little influenced by men's previous traditions. But social science deals with facts made by its own past practices and beliefs and now viewed through the coloring of those same beliefs. A clear perception of the social work of an institution in terms of practical adjustments to be made, requires first of all a disentangling of the historic influences which are persistently at work. In education much of what we do is the product of tradition, and the very theory through which much of our reform is made possible is filled with the thoughts of historic theorists. So conservative and traditional an institution as the school needs historic illumination to be understood. Before any progressive and constructive educational policy may be set down as a body of controlling theory, we must understand the traditional elements

which are to be modified in coming to a better adjustment to social conditions as we find them to be. The historic view should be an early if not a first view of the educational situation.

In the second place, the actual procedure fixes this professional course in the history of education as the first introductory course to the general study of education. Thus the theoretic and the practical considerations coincide in making the history of education a beginning rather than an ending course in educational training.

What differences do there need to be in the first view of education given to the prospective teacher and that general view which is presented to the cultural student? Are they sufficiently important to warrant two separate courses? There are a number of conditions which would suggest that their needs are not sufficiently diverse to warrant separate treatments; that, indeed, the first professional treatment of the history of education would largely cover the demands of the student in the school of liberal arts.

The department of education has an intimacy of relation and a community of need with the school of liberal arts that no other professional department has.

(1) One of the largest aspects of professional skill in teaching comes from a command of the academic subject matter which is presented in the liberal undergraduate school. In law, medicine and the other professional schools the subject matter or knowledge required is more or less special to the department. It is distinctly professional rather than cultural. Education or teaching makes a technical or professional use of the culture subjects. The professional student of education must always carry much of the point of view, and much of the command of subject matter which characterizes the liberal student.

(2) The relation which the average college student bears to the professional work of the school is far more intimate than that which he has to any other professional institution. He has been living in an intimate relationship with the school through the most of his life, to a degree that is not present in his contact with law, politics, medicine and similar institutions. He has the view of an "insider," with a memory well stocked with the detail of educational practice. A more intimate, and even technical tracing of historic elements will lie within his comprehension

and his needs. His very close acquaintance with the school will tend to make the historic treatment that would be given him not far different from a first view that would be proper to the prospective teacher who commences to view his chosen field through a historic perspective.

(3) Wholly disregarding the considerations already mentioned, one might go further and say that even in the case of the professional student, the first view which he would need is that general presentation of the historic situation which would be fittest for the ordinary student. Our educational work today is too much restricted to its own traditional devices. The taught becomes teacher and repeats the traditional method. Few teachers are conscious of the great social and institutional factors which lie just back of their traditional ways of procedure. The details of their practice need to be seen in their large relationship, as much as the details of the cultural student's school experience require wide interpretation.

For the general student, the subject should reveal those facts which will guide him toward that appreciation and responsiveness to the problems of education which he ought as a citizen and member of the community to bear as an obligation in common with his neighbors. The teacher is *both citizen and teacher*. He requires this preliminary appreciation of his field prior to his more technical study of it in terms of constructive and creative technique. There are certain final and widereaching obligations which the school bears, that need to be seen at the outset, before the success or failure of the many detailed and technical means of the educational worker can be determined. Without this steadying and rectifying general view the work of education must constantly be hampered by transient schemes of reform that are short-lived because improperly developed out of setting, and by traditions the lifelessness of which is unperceived because the passing of the conditions which gave them worth is unobserved.

There is a very real danger that in the attempt to professionalize the history of education we may *narrowly professionalize* it. The view of education in its wide connections with life which should be given to the prospective citizen taking the subject, may be missed. The tendency to make history yield device and pattern in teaching technique may defeat the largest service which a study of educational development may yield. Our past devotion

to a few theorists and the internal methods of the school as opposed to a study of the school organization in relation to social condition and need, is example of the fact. It is precisely because the larger view has not been given to teachers that as a class they are unable to respond to the newer demands which a living and growing society imposes upon them. The very first need, in the face of the present condition of our profession, may be more thoroughly to professionalize them by giving them the wider view which has been demanded for the cultural student. This need is more than special to our professional condition; it is special to the condition of democratic society in which the school and the teacher are going to operate. The administrative and technical advances of the school must rely upon the support of the public, which the educational worker must carry with him. His ability to "keep his majorities behind him" depends upon his perception of education through the eyes of one who is at once a member of the community and a member of the profession.

(4) Of course such a first professional treatment does not meet our full necessities. The prospective teacher, unlike the student who has no intention of teaching, has *specialized* obligations in terms of appreciation and action. His work is more intensive and more technical. He needs to know more, to be sure, and to know it in forms of varying situation and versatility of skill. But it is not to be supposed that the prospective teacher can take on more understanding than the general student in the first year's course of three hours per week, merely because he has professional intentions.

In fact a single course in the history of education, particularly if it come at the beginning, cannot give the *full yield* of professional light to the student of education. Its illumination of the more subtle and technical problems which are his special demand above that of the student of general culture can only come as his mind penetrates the educational situation, and he becomes conscious of the various phases of his technical needs. The historic treatment of education is not *merely a course, it is a method*. It may be applied consecutively throughout certain courses, *but it ought to be used in any educational treatment where it is needed*.

In view of all of the above considerations it seems that *the first professional treatment of the history of education for the begin-*

ning student of education and the cultural treatment for the liberal student should be given in one course and at the same time, the more technical treatment required by the educational worker being reserved for more advanced courses or for courses not primarily historic where the historic method is however used.

The time allotment, and the administrative placing of the above mentioned introductory professional course cannot be discussed to any advantage in theoretic terms. The practical conditions are the largest determinants. These factors are so complex and lie so completely beyond the control of the instructor of the history of education, and of the department of education, even, that the prevalent tendency, which represents a kind of accomplished adjudication of the various claims, may be accepted. It is probable that a statement of standard which would in the long run come nearest to being acceptable is: *That an introductory professional course in the history of education open to third year students should occupy three periods a week through an academic year of thirty or more weeks.*

III. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION FOR PROFESSIONAL USE IN THE UNIVERSITY

On the basis of administrative conditions surrounding the use of the history of education in universities, the professional presentation of educational history occurs in three distinctive forms: (1) In a general introductory course where the first professional view, required in common by future kindergartner, elementary teacher, high school instructor, principal, superintendent and other professional workers, is given to the special student of education along with that cultural view required by the liberal arts student. (2) In more advanced and differentiated courses meeting the more specialized professional needs of differentiated types of educational workers as opposed to each other and to the student of liberal arts. (3) In the use of historical material and method as one incidental means of presenting the theory and practice of education in courses not specifically and dominantly historical. The problem now presents itself as one of making full professional use of the subject in each of the three opportunities offered. How then shall the material be selected and organized for each of these? Let us consider the general principles which seem ap-

plicable to the professional organization of the history of education, so as to be concrete, with particular reference to the needs of the first general and introductory course in the history of education. Any modification of their application as necessitated by the conditions of subsequent treatments may be considered later.

If one is to judge by the announcements of courses in the history of education, and by the discussions of the worth of the history of education in the magazines and text book prefaces, the usual college course in that subject presents a situation which is determined by no clearly conscious and unifying principles of organization. It has been determined by a mixture of influences. Not that this mixture of moulding forces has given us no fixed tradition in the matter. On the contrary, the historical study of education tends very strongly toward presenting the conglomerate as the tradition.

The average course presents a kind of patchwork, the respective patches of which represent the influence of some more or less isolated and special attitudes toward the subject. Again there is a feeling that the organization has followed lines of least resistance, rather than lines of need. Our educational history has been given from the materials nearest at hand, without any very strenuous effort to find and to utilize facts not within easy reach. There are doubtless adequate explanations for both of these conditions. An inadequate consciousness of our own problems as they present themselves in the educational situation of to-day, has left us without a standard for the selection and interpretation of our history. We have not known in a definite and orderly fashion the series of present day problems which our educational history is to illuminate. Again, the history of education has been given by men whose primary interest is not in the field itself, but in some other aspect of educational study. The result has been that our educational history has been given with such material as might be at hand without any considerable use of research to supply our pertinent wants. The availability of theoretic writings as opposed to a knowledge of educational practice has undoubtedly been a factor in making our work too largely the history of theory. The emphasis upon individual reformers as opposed to wide social movements may be attributed in part at least to the same condition. Fortunately there have

been of late some evidences of the beginnings of a reform of these prevalent weaknesses. Still, the courses today present, so far as one may judge from appearances, the mixed and imperfectly unified organization previously suggested.

When one considers some of the more important points of view which have been factors in shaping the course, it would scarcely seem possible for the condition to have been otherwise. A few typical statements regarding the use and the worth of the subject are listed so as to suggest the mixture and even opposition of various opinions as to the organization of the subject.

ORGANIZING POINT OF VIEW

"The history of education is genuinely and primarily history" "As a historical subject, moreover, it is to be taught in the same scholarly way, and by the same general methods, as any other college course in history." (Norton, A. O. *Scope and Aims of the History of Education*, *Educ. Rev.*, vol. 27, p. 443.)

(The course aims to give such a) "knowledge of the relation of institutional education to the development of civilization and culture as is indispensable to a liberal college training." (Northwestern University, *General Catalogue*, 1906-7, p. 85.)

"Throughout its treatment, the history of education is regarded from the point of view of its place in the *professional* education of teachers, and its primary purpose of affording to prospective teachers a basis for the interpretation and appreciation of the essential features of particularly modern elementary and secondary education." (University of Wisconsin, *catalogue*, 1906-7, p. 105.)

THE VALUE OF THE SUBJECT

"It gives him true pedagogic perspective and enables him to estimate accurately the value of courses of study and methods of teaching." (Kemp, *History of Education*, p. vii.)

"The serious problems of our education are not those of mere detail and temporary device; not whether this should be taught, or that left out; but those which indicate the trend of our development." (Kiehle, *The History of Education: what it stands for*. *School Review*, vol. IX, p. 314.)

(Its value is) "in the general ways of looking at contemporary educational matters rather than in pattern solutions of the small problems of teaching." (Norton, A. O. *Scope and Aims of the History of Education*, *Educational Review*, vol. XXVII, p. 455.)

"How shall the subject be taught? Not certainly by picking out those parts of it 'which bear directly upon present-day problems of education,' for every part of it bears directly upon present-day education." (Moore, E. C. *The History of Education*, *School Review*, vol. xi, p. 356.)

ASPECTS AND RELATIONS TREATED

"We read about the great teachers instead of reading what they have written." (Maxwell, *The Literature of Education*, *Educational Review*, vol. II, p. 323.)

"The great educational movements are racial and not individual. Too much emphasis has been placed upon the work of certain heroic teachers, and too little emphasis upon the dominant educational spirit of the age." (Brumbaugh, M. G. in editor's preface, *Kemp's History of Education*, p. ix.)

"The history of the education of a people is not the history of its schools, but the history of its civilization." (Laurie, S. S. *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Civilization*, p. 1.)

"It is not the history of civilization, it is the history of man's efforts to perpetuate and extend the values which the society of his time has acquired." (Moore, E. C. *The History of Education*, *School Review*, vol. xi, p. 349.)

"Vital theory must grow out of practice....the history of educational theories must not be cut away from the history of educational practice." (Moore, E. C. *The History of Education*, *School Review*, vol. xi, p. 356.)

NATIONS AND EPOCHS INCLUDED

"It (the course in educational history) ought to have pregnant, meaty chapters on education in China in India and I would have a careful chapter on primitive education as illustrated in savage races, past and present, a theme full of suggestiveness." (Hall, G. S. *What is Pedagogy?* *Pedagogical Seminary*, vol. 12, p. 358.)

"Educational development among primitive people, or those who have contributed little to the stream of European civilization, is of only minor value." (Cubberley, E. P. Syllabus of lectures on the history of Education, 2d. ed., p. 8.)

DETAILED FACTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

"We see what a history of education would be: a sort of philosophy of history." (Compayre, G. History of Pedagogy, p. x.)

"The facts must be stated *in extenso*; else the interpretations which are offered will remain in air." (Moore, E. C. History of Education, School Review, vol. XI, p. 356.)

"Some of my generalizations are, I know, open to question. In defense I have only to say that in all cases I have given what seemed to me best calculated to impart a comprehensive view of the entire subject." (Davidson, T. History of Education, pp. v, vi.)

"The work I have in mind should be pretty well purged of the lumber of learning, should not deal much with critical questions, but should above all, be edifying." (Hall, G. S. What is Pedagogy? Pedagogical Seminary, vol. xii, pp. 379, 380.)

"The history of education is a vast field, and we are accustomed to demand bulky treatises as the only adequate ones. But the obvious disadvantage of such works has led to the clearly defined ideal of a book like Mr. Quick's, which separates the gold from the dross, and offers it small in bulk but precious in value." (Harris, W. T., in editor's preface, Quick's Educational Reformers, ed. of 1890, p. viii.)

Such diversity of opinion as to the controlling factors in the selection and organization of the materials in the history of education makes clear the need of a unifying and adequate point of view, from which may be judged the worth of various treatments of the history of education.

What the history of education will be depends upon what *education is*. If education is merely instruction in certain subjects, then the history of education will be the history of teaching methods. If it is held to be a vastly wider process wherein the school and other institutions are bringing about a conscious

evolution of mankind through the educative process toward spiritual and moral ends, then the history of education will include much more than the history of teaching device. It will include every factor in school life, its aims, its teaching and administrative methods, its subject matter, its organization. More, it will treat of other educative institutions beside the school, and these with the school will be related to each other and the larger civilization of which they are all a part. It is precisely because we have no clear idea of what the educational process is in its fullest meaning that we have no standard for determining what is a proper course in the history of education. It will be our conception of the nature of the educational process, or our educational philosophy, which will determine what facts, aspects, relations and sequences need to be traced historically.

The philosophy of education which underlies the propositions presented in this paper cannot be stated here. It can hardly be suggested. It will appear to even the superficial reader, however, that education is not the mere teaching of knowledge. It is infinitely broader in its function. Society, along with the rest of the world, is in progress of evolution. With humanity this evolution is becoming more and more conscious. Man's struggles with the universe have been given an interpretation through man's idealistic ethics. The ethical ends here set up, in so far as they can be seen, are the goals toward which humanity is trying to guide humanity in its spiritual struggles. In so far as these are realized through the development of personality by the use of educational means, *education is a process of conscious evolution*, which finds its constant product in the realization of higher and higher adaptive relationships between man and the total environment through which he achieves himself.

The progress of any professional course in the history of education will be determined by the point of view of the professional worker to be trained, and that point of view will be established by his future functions. A professional course for those who are to render service in the school involves at least three special limitations: (1) Such a course will deal more particularly with the history of schools than with other institutions which have been educational, though inter-institutional relations must be constantly treated. (2) The functions of such a worker are practical. They frame themselves in terms of obligations

that are to be discharged through action. In so far as the history of education has any professional worth for the school-worker, it will be a body of professional experience instrumental in offering guidance in his professional activities. (3) This practical school function has particular reference to the present and the future. As a vocational subject it will be no mere accumulation of knowledge bearing upon some remote period however interesting; no stock of information satisfying certain intellectual curiosities which the individual may happen to have. It will be a selective treatment of the past with regard to its ability to shed light upon present problems and needs. *It will be a selective, interpretative, and fully unified treatment of educational experience in its various aspects and relations, used as an aid in the formulation of a theory for the control of the present educational practice which is to be viewed as the latest stage in our educational evolution.*

Under such an understanding of a professional course in the history of education, what aspects and relationships should be treated in any given epoch of any given society?

It may be said of the school that the adjustments it makes may be classified into two large groups. In the first place it makes certain modifications of itself to suit the conditions and needs of the larger society of which it is a part. The state of society and the hope of society give it its aims and functions. The school builds the kind of man that the community prizes. Whether a school shall have thirty or forty or fifty children per teacher, depends upon how well educated the community wants its children to be, measured not in terms of their "say-so" but in terms of the sacrifices they are ready to make measured by the school tax they are willing to endure. In a thousand similar detailed ways, the school is influenced. These reflections of social forces may be called *the school's external adjustments*.

In the second place, the school modifies itself to suit the peculiarities of its own social life. Because it is made up of many immature little people, it must have special ways of making the adult culture of civilization take on meaning for the child. Its control over the child will be limited to such activities as will be permitted by the power and intimacy which teacher and child have with each other under the limited time of acquaintance in a common life. We know the school cannot do anything or every

thing. Its own strength and limitations dictate what it can and cannot do. Such arrangements of its own work which are made to foster its own strengths and protect its own weaknesses, may be called *the school's internal adjustments*.

These external and internal adjustments of the school are endless, and they combine in an infinite number of ways affecting each other. Only the more important ones can be studied. These external adjustments between the school and society present a series which is most fundamental to the professional worker. The school cannot be understood in isolation. It has no meaning outside of its social setting. It is social life which has created the school; it is for social control in some form or other that the schools exist at all. The aims and purposes which determine what the school shall strive to do are not gotten from itself but from the civilization which has brought it into its present existence. The efficiency of the school's work is only known as its men and women sustain their obligations when returned to the fuller life of the larger social grouping. A knowledge of social forces in their relation to the school is the beginning and the ending of any understanding of what the school is. Other facts regarding the school are necessary, but they are intermediary and get their meaning from the wider social relationships. *It will be a fundamental function of any good professional course in the history of education to present as a constant factor the relation of the school to society with its conditions and aspirations.*

Such a social study of education will also relate the function of the school to other institutions. The school does not meet all the educational demands of the whole of society. It carries those that it is, relatively speaking, better fitted to carry than are other institutions. The school should not waste its time trying to perform tasks it cannot do. Some of the deeper and more intimate virtues which the home can foster so well, the school utterly fails to engender. The school should not expend its energies trying to perform tasks which other institutions can do better. Our existing practical arrangements in the school and other institutions are vital examples of the recognition of this principle.

Institutions will not alone limit and supplement each other. They will influence and modify each other. The various insti-

tutional aspects of social life are constantly affecting the school. It is trite to say that religious, political, economic, cultural and other social conditions influence the school. What the school happens to be is determined not only by the general conditions and ideals of society in the large, but also by the specific organization and function of other specific social institutions. Economic, religious, political, and other institutional forces must be reckoned with. So must the state of knowledge and culture be known, not only because they influence social values and forces but because they largely determine the school's materials and procedures. The course of study cannot transcend the state of knowledge. The methods of instruction will depend upon the prevailing notions of psychology, biology, sociology and ethics. *A good professional course in the history of education will indicate the inter-relations of the school and other particular social institutions.*

Upon the side of the school's internal adjustments stand all its condescensions to child nature. Everywhere and at every instant the school bends to the nature of its own social grouping. All it does cannot have a sanction from some social practice or theory of the society of mature men and women; much that the school does has only the sanction of childhood. Special methods of teaching, special ways of disciplining, special ways of living in school are marks, in many cases, of the school's adjustment to its own "strength of materials." What the school thinks its own situation is, has had a history just like any other aspect of school life.

The school of to-day is full of stock notions of teaching methods. They are the product of the past carried into the present, frequently without any sanction save that of mere momentum. Traditional curricula come down bodily from one decade to another, without much regard for changed conditions. Our discipline, also, shows the mile-mark of tradition. These are to be interpreted in terms of the accepted beliefs regarding child nature which were current at their rise. In so far as these psychological beliefs upon which they were based have subsequently been proven false, and the methods left without adequate logical and scientific setting, and sanction, the historic tracing has its lesson for the teacher.

The child as a factor to which the school is to adjust itself is

to a far greater degree a stable element than the society to which it also conforms. The child as he is given to us by nature is not considerably different from one period to another, at least within the historic period; but society to which the school also conforms has had a rapid evolution within the same time. But the opinion of people as to what the child may be psychologically has varied enormously. Under a theory of "faculty psychology," the teaching theory of "formal discipline" comes into being, and persists in the control of educational practices long after psychologists have abandoned their conception of a "faculty psychology." Other "level theories," or "epoch" theories of a child's development have also played a part in systematic schemes of education. They continue to operate as educational theories after the psychology they have implied has been proven false.

The history of psychological opinion in its relation to teaching method has been neglected even more than the record of the school's social relations. Our history of education has given us a series of devices that have had a historic usage without a knowledge of the evolution of the psychological opinion which called them into being and gave them an understandable sanction. *It will be the function of any good professional course in the history of education to trace the relationship between the special modes of its own internal life and the prevalent psychological opinions which have determined them.*

In all these adjustments, external and internal, sociological and psychological, there have been two aspects that require tracing and interrelating. There has been always the actual practice expressing these adjustments and again there has been a body of theory suggesting what these adjustments ought to be and how they ought to be made. These two aspects have been intimately connected all through the history of education. The history of education must present both theory and practice, and show them in their true relationship to each other. Neither can be treated in isolation. Neither is fully intelligible without the other. Educational theory has been determined largely by interpretations of educational experience; in turn educational practice has been determined by controlling ideas constituting a theory either implied or expressed. A single illustration from kindergarten history will suffice. Froebel's experiences as a tutor

and as master of the Institute at Keilhau, were certainly the bases for much of his theory. In turn his theory has determined the practice of the kindergarten ever since. A similar relationship holds of the secondary school which has been more largely the product of professional or group experience and theory, as opposed to the dominant work of any one individual.

Many of our courses have had a tendency to over-emphasize the history of theory, to the almost complete omission of the actual evolution of practice. Even the theory has not been complete. It has dealt with systematic theories expressed mainly in the writings of great reformers, and only to a restricted degree with that implied theory which is the corporate possession of wide groups of teachers holding common ideals, and teaching by means of methods more or less similar. The Middle Ages had few theorists who wrote radical theories of reform, but the teaching body had an implied theory, a set of controlling ideas.

Some have believed that the prevalent emphasis upon theory was to be corrected by being "more practical" and making the course a history of "actual conditions." This in turn would be going to the opposite extreme of isolated treatment. In its turn it would probably be a narrow interpretation of what school practice is, laying the emphasis upon the materials of the course of study and the methods of instruction and neglecting conditions of organization and administration which are of equal importance.

The professional course should present an adequate history of theory both expressed and implied, and of actual practice, both administrative and instructional; and indicate their bearing upon each other. It is not so much in fitting actual devices to the practice of to-day, or in borrowing the theoretic idea of yesterday that history is of worth. It lies rather in its clear presentation of relations and their sequences, that the subject is valuable. Social history repeats itself not so much in concrete situations as in the varied applications of the same relationships.

The study of the educational situation of a given group of people in any given period would involve the study of many factors in variable relation to each other. The following partial list of topics is given as suggestive:

I. The sociological aspect.

1. Prevalent conditions and ideals of the period among various classes.
 - a. Manifest in various institutions.
 - (1) Family, vocational, military, religious, political and cultural life.
 - b. How far realized through educational, or non-coercive means.
 - (1) Particular institutions utilized.
 - (a) Their limiting, supplementing and re-enforcing influence on each other.
 - (2) The special functions of the schools in particular.
 - c. Social influences on school method.
 - (1) On nature and extent of school organization.
 - (2) On the course of study.
 - (3) On attitude toward individuality of children.

II. The personal aspect.

1. Prevalent theories as to psychology and physiology of child.
 - a. Popular attitude toward the individual.
 - b. Scientific or quasi-scientific belief with regard to the child.
 - c. Facts of individual psychology and biology assumed in theory of discipline, instruction, and school life among teachers.
2. The organization of school spirit and method.
 - a. Activities utilized.
 - (1) Physical.
 - (2) Psychological.
 - (a) Sensory, rational, emotional, expressive, etc.
 - (3) Social.
 - b. The materials of school life.
 - (1) Formal intellectual material of curriculum.
 - (2) Play, social life, etc.
 - c. Special methods of instruction.
 - d. Special methods of discipline.

III. The school as an active adjustment of the social and personal aspects.

1. Types of schools.
 - a. Elementary, secondary, higher schools.
 - b. Liberal schools and technical schools.
 - c. Supplementary schools — evening, Sunday schools, etc.
 - d. Schools for un-normal people.
2. Distribution of population.
 - a. In and out of school.
 - b. In different types of schools.
 - c. Within individual schools.
 - d. Determining factors in distribution.
3. The organization of the teaching profession.
 - a. How drafted.
 - b. How educated.
 - c. Conditions determining their life.
4. The course of study.
 - a. What studies.
 - b. Factors determining presence of each study.
 - c. Relative importance of each.
5. School method.
 - a. Intellectual activities.
 - (1) General and special methods.
 - b. Extra-intellectual activities.
 - (1) School spirit and discipline.
 - (2) Play and social organization.

Thus far we have taken note of the elements to be studied in any given period. The view is one of co-existent aspects in their relation to each other. But there are historic sequences as well as contemporary relationships. In our professional course for the training of school workers, which of these are to be omitted? Which included? How related in treatment?

In as much as the use of the course is for a particular professional training, the point of view of the student affords a standard. The teacher or the prospective one is in the position of a person who has to deal with a present situation. It is a situation reflecting social conditions and needs. In so far as it represents conditions, it has a traditional aspect. In so far as it attempts to supply certain needs, it is interested in change, in a modifica-

tion of existing educational traditions. It is in the understanding of these historic forces as now operative that the teacher has need for a historic interpretation. *The materials of the history of education should be selected upon the basis that they are relatively the most pertinent to an understanding of the present educational situation.* They represent the historical knowledge which is most vital to an understanding of present day education in terms of the tasks to be done. They are the larger sources of historic influence that persist. The caste system of education in Ancient India has left, so far as we can see, no forces influencing American education of the twentieth century. The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century in England has. The educational theory of Jean Gerson is not as important in understanding the theory of to-day as the views of Martin Luther.

The principle of pertinency to the present must not be understood to be the equivalent of recency as a basis for choice of materials. Mere nearness in point of time is no necessary indication of the degree of influence which a historic condition or theory may exert upon our present life. Out of the desire to be practical, it has been urged that a course in the more recent reaches of the history of education in the United States would be more useful than one covering the many centuries that make up the history of education in Europe. The same impulse has led to an emphasis upon courses from the Renaissance down. A continuous tradition establishing itself during the Italian Renaissance may be far more vital to-day than some evanescent practice starting in colonial America. The religious instruction of the old Latin Schools has not persisted, but the humanities of the school of Vittorino da Feltre have. The influence of the philosophy of Plato may be greater than the educational theories of Milton. Some forces are revolutionary in their immediate effects and continuous in their force over long periods of time; others are less effective and short lived. To restrict the history of education to a period of the recent past may mean that the allotted time may be given over to crowding the course with comparatively insignificant details, and may mean the omission of some of the important moulding forces. Other factors being equal, the more recent is likely to be the most important fact; but the other factors are practically never equal. *The mere recency of*

an historic influence is by no means a guarantee of its worth in explaining the educational problems of to-day.

If preference is given to those historic movements which are especially valuable in appreciating the traditional elements in our educational scheme, the facts are therefore not to be presented in an order dictated mainly by the present situation, with only "more or less" of historic sequence. Such a disposition of the subject might make up a good course in "comparative education" but it would not be history. The continuity of history is a necessity in any appropriate exposition. The selected facts need to be ordered and related to each other so as to present a continuous movement of forces, the temporary terminal point of which is in the present educational situation. To jump suddenly from Greek education to the Middle Ages, without careful transition, or to leave the thread of educational development hanging in air above European soil at the middle of the nineteenth century, may be to know our traditional antecedents, but not to know them in connection with each other and with education in America to-day. Sometimes the connection is made, but made meagerly, with an influence traced out here and there. *What is required is an adequate and continuous tracing of the influences theoretical and practical which are related to the educational conditions and aspirations of American democracy in the twentieth century.*

The historic elements which have made up the traditional aspects of our recent past, are the product of deep rootings in the centuries. There have been many contributing soils. The major civilizations and the minor ones have been drawn upon, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. It is not always possible to trace the original sources of ideas and practices, nor is it always feasible. It would seem best to limit the history of education to the main lines of institutional and cultural descent. The civilizations of the Mesopotamian and Nile valleys were unquestionably an influence upon the Greek culture and life which have descended to us. But as types of education they are only indirectly connected with our inheritance. It seems a lack of economy to treat them as special topics for study. To the extent that they offer important elements they can be treated incidentally in the presentation of the larger Greek civilizations, into which the elements of concern to us were merged.

If Babylon, Egypt, Persia and other nations of equal remoteness of relation are to be subordinated to an incidental treatment in the presentation of more important civilizations through which their influence was felt, we might go further in the case of nations that have not touched our educational traditions. The educational agencies of primitive peoples in Africa, Australia or America may be interesting from a comparative point of view, and indeed valuable. But they constitute no part of our educational history. They should be left out. The same may be said of such other peoples who have barely touched our civilization. China and India are practically no part of our educational history. All these, by virtue of their contrasts may be useful in educational study, but they belong primarily to a comparative study of education rather than to a study of our educational evolution.

The main line of our cultural descent may well begin with the primitive Greeks and continue through each stage in the evolution of Greek life. The contribution of Roman, the heritage of Hebrew and Early Christian, as well as the influence of a world-spread Greek culture may be noted at the elimination and fusion of forces during the transition from ancient civilization to the Middle Ages. The evolution of European education as a whole should be traced through the mediaeval centuries until the seventeenth is reached. After the Protestant Reformation it is Protestant North Europe that should be emphasized. In the seventeenth century, England needs particular attention as the mother of the American colonies. In the seventeenth century the "transit of education" from Europe to America should be carefully followed. After this "transit," American evolution should form the main study.

All the important movements within this main line of cultural descent should be followed with care, and their origins, relations to each other, and consequences noted. The coming of the "new education" in Greece, the economic and political changes in Rome, the Christian revolt from Judaism, the coming of the Barbarians, the rise of monasticism, the revival of Alcuin, the founding of the universities, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Puritan Revolution, the American Revolution:—all these present types of movements within the main current of development.

Where side currents of large influence have entered and fused, their contributions must also be studied with great care. The

influence of the Barbarian invasions, the addition of Muslim culture, the French Revolution, in fact the whole European influence upon American education since the seventeenth century represent typical secondary influences upon the main educational traditions in American life that must be given detailed treatment.

On the whole, the materials selected for a professional course in the history of education should be limited to the important lines of our cultural and institutional descent. This would (1) completely eliminate certain matter now taught; (2) subordinate certain other materials to an incidental treatment; (3) make "secondary" such important movements and influences as have been more or less external and foreign to the main line of development, and (4) regard as "primary" those historic changes which have marked the evolution of our direct line of social and educational inheritances.

Any ordinary course in history which covers a wide reach of facts will cover many periods. The treatment of one epoch, with due regard for transitions, will be followed by another. The presentation of a given epoch will indicate and relate the different dominant aspects of a period. For clearness of perception and for their comparative worth, each period may be contrasted or likened to the organization of the forces operating in our own time. This will give a constant present value to the study of any period. But on the whole, the treatment will necessarily be epochal, with the final significance of each set of facts realizing itself fully only as they find their final place in the situation of to-day. This dominant epochal treatment needs to be summarized, and such a summary can be well made in a rapid historic review of the many historic phases, which are still of vital concern. It will insure a vitality to the historic treatment that might otherwise be missed. Furthermore, it makes the history course a truer basis for the theoretic study of contemporaneous education in terms of controlling conditions and principles. It is the best transition from a historical study to a theoretic treatment where the present problems are viewed in aspects. The practice of some institutions in providing for the study of the fundamental principles of education as the last third or fourth of the introductory course, may here find an adequate means of relating the history and principles of education.

The aspects which may be selected may be determined by many fundamental points of view. The discussion may be from the standpoint (1) of the large institutional forces which have influenced the school, when political, economic, religious and other institutional aspects may be reviewed with historic continuity. (2) The view may be from the standpoint of the large movements within the school which have successively determined the subject matter of the educational institution, when the scholastic, the humanistic, the disciplinary, and other realistic aspects may be treated. (3) The factors which have largely operated from within and determined the method and spirit of instruction and school life, such as the psychological, sociological and scientific points of view may have their influence traced. (4) The summary may be in terms of administrative aspects, the history of specific institutions, like the kindergarten, the elementary school, the secondary school and the higher institutions of learning, being traced. *A supplementing of the epochal treatment by an historic summary of the development of different aspects of education will help to unify educational history with the present situation, and make a good transition to a theoretic discussion of the principles of educational control.*

In the department of education there will be other courses beside the introductory one. There will be need for a more specialized and advanced study of education on its developmental side. But the general professional spirit of the introductory course should hold for successive courses. The general principles laid down will be modified only in that they are restricted to the study of some special phase or period of educational evolution, as "the history of the theory of education," or "educational development since the Renaissance" In the case of a research course making a study primarily from the sources, the study will be more restricted and the method more intensive. The application of the scientific methods of historic investigation will in no way come in conflict with the selection of problems to be studied so that such study will be at once a scientific and a professional contribution. All such courses, whether more advanced studies from wider secondary materials or from sources, should be regarded as more intensive treatments of the special aspects which have already been related to each other in the general introductory course. As part of the

work of a vocational school they ought to be guided more or less by the principles already suggested for that particular professional course. *The specialized work of advanced courses should be kept in the general historic setting. Any special methods or materials which they may need to use, will supplement rather than annul the principles already laid down.*

But the use of a historic treatment of education is not only a course, it is a method to be applied to the disentangling of the traditional elements in our present problems. As the student becomes more mature he will see detailed phases that he could not understand at first and which should not be presented in any first course. As these more restricted aspects come to consciousness in the theoretic and practical courses they will need to be studied, and here the historic method of presentation like the comparative may be brought into requisition. The historic treatment of the method of teaching spelling in the three hundred years of American life would not have been vital to the student prior to his need to understand that problem as brought to his mind in the presentation of the theoretic course. The special problems of administrative method as seen in schemes of taxation, grading or selection of teachers, and those of teaching method, as viewed in the various stock ways of teaching reading, or geography, would only be a dull grind on details if introduced into any first study. But later, a historic treatment is most illuminating. Nothing so clarifies the status of present methods in the teaching of reading to beginners as a clear statement of the way in which different types of reading method have come down to the present and given us a mixed emphasis, now upon the "phonetic side" and now upon the "thought side." The present situation with regard to prevalent reading methods cannot be understood without it. *An incidental use of the history method may properly occur in almost any subsequent study of principles and methods, rendering large service in the clarifying of particular situations which need to be understood by the mature and specialized student.*

Such further courses in particular aspects or periods of history and seminars in historic investigation, along with the incidental use of the historic method wherever needed in special courses upon theory and practice, will give the department of education an opportunity to meet the specialized needs of the

students who come within the care of the department. All will need the general introductory professional course; no one will work at cross purposes with his fellow in dealing with the larger educational questions which concern all alike. *Whatever specialized needs beyond the introductory professional course are manifested by kindergartner, primary teacher, grammar grade teacher, high school instructor, special supervisor, principal, superintendent, or educational theorist may be amply met by subsequent courses and incidental treatments.* As each pursues the special courses of his own field the historic setting may be given. Research students will have seminars; theorists, the specialized treatment of historic theories; the kindergartner, the evolution of the kindergarten; the primary teacher, the history of the elementary school, and so on. The only limitation lies in the size of the department, but this will limit the possibility of historic treatment no more than comparative and other treatments of present day educational problems.

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